

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 02560 01 OF 02 240805Z  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /010 W  
-----240809 023697 /11-R  
P 240725Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5657

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 2560/01

STADIS////////////////////////////////

FOR SHERMAN, EA/J

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, JA  
SUBJECT: FUKUDA VISIT PAPER: RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

REF: STATE 33987

1. SOUTHEAST ASIA, HISTORICALLY A FOCAL POINT FOR JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS SIGNIFICANT THAN NORTH-EAST ASIA, HAS RECENTLY BEEN THE OBJECT OF FRESH GOVERNMENT ATTENTION, CENTERED ON RELATIONS WITH ASEAN. JAPAN'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ARE MAINTENANCE OF ACCESS TO THE RAW MATERIALS AND MARKETS OF THEREGION; JAPANESE TRADE FIGURES EVEN MORE PROMINENTLY IN THE BILATERAL TRADE RELATIONS OF MOST OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS. APART FROM THE DESIRE TO SEE THESE COMMERCIAL TIES FLOURISH, IT IS STRATEGICALLY VITAL TO JAPAN TO HAVE FRIENDLY STATES ASTRIDE THE TANKER LIFELINE TO THE MIDDLE EAST. JAPANESE POLITICAL INTERESTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA INCLUDE THE FOSTERING OF STABILITY, AVOIDANCE OF CONFLICT, ENCOURAGEMENT OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ESTABLISHMENT OF LINKS BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS AND BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, AND, FINALLY, SATISFACTION OF A VAGUE BUT GROWING  
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URGE TO ACT AS A LEADING ASIAN POWER. IN THE LATTER CONNECTION, THE JAPANESE SEE SOUTHEAST ASIA AS AN AREA IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF THE BIG POWERS ARE NOT SO TIGHTLY INTERWOVEN AS IN NORTHEAST ASIA, LEAVING JAPAN SOMEWHAT MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER AND INITIATIVE.

2. WHILE THERE MAY BE AREAS OF US-JAPANESE COMMERCIAL

COMPETITION, IN GENERAL JAPANESE AND US VIEWS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE GOALS WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE HAVE BEEN IN HARMONY. ALTHOUGH TOKYO HAS ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE INDICHINESE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS SINCE THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR, ITS FOCUS OF ATTENTION IN THE REGION HAS BEEN ON THE ASEAN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, JAPANESE POLICIES TOWARD THE ASEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN LESS THE PRODUCT OF A COORDINATED REGIONAL APPROACH THAN AN AMALGAM OF AD HOC RESPONSES SHAPED BY THE PRESSURES OF COMMERCE, INFLUENCED BY AN UNHAPPY HISTORIAL LEGACY FROM WORLD WAR II, AND INHIBITED BY DOUBTS ABOUT THE CONSISTENCY OF POST-VIETNAM US CONCERN FOR THE AREA.

3. PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA WILL BE VISITING WASHINGTON AT A TIME WHEN JAPAN IS RETHINKING ITS APPROACH TO SOUTHEAST ASIA. ITS INTEREST IN PROVIDING MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR THE ASEAN ECONOMIES AS A PROP TO POLITICAL STABILITY IS BALANCED BY TRADITIONAL CAUTION, SHORTAGES OF CAPITAL, AND THE VAGARIES OF DEALING WITH ASEAN AS AN ORGANIZATION, NOT JUST A CLUSTER OF BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS. WE DOUBT WHETHER JAPAN WILL RACH FIRM CONCLUSIONS UNTIL IT IS SURER ABOUT THE ROLE THE UNITED STATES PLANS TO PLAY IN THE REGION. MR. FUKUDA WILL WANT TO HEAR MORE ABOUT US INTENTIONS.

4. HE WILL NOT EXPECT MAGIC FORMULAS OR DETAILED PLANS. LIKE HIS PREDECESSORS, HOWEVER, FUKUDA HAS BEEN CONDITIONED TO BELIEVE THAT US CONCERN FOR JAPANESE SECURITY IS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PARAMOUNT ELEMENT OF OUR ASIAN POLICY. HE WILL WANT ABOVE ALL TO HEAR THAT WE ARE NOT EMBARKED ON A PIECEMEAL DISENGAGEMENT FROM ASIA THAT WILL LEAVE JAPAN EXPOSED. HE WILL BE LISTENING FOR ASSURANCE THAT WHATEVER ACTIONS WE INITIATE, WHETHER IN KOREA, THE PHILIPPINES, TAIWAN OR ELSEWHERE, HAVE FULLY CONSIDERED THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS FOR JAPAN IN NORTHEAST AS WELL AS WOUTHEAST ASIA. ONE FACTOR THE JAANESE WILL HAVE IN MIND ARE ANY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE USE AND COMPOSITION OF US BASES IN JAPAN. EVIDENCE THAT THE US PLANNED TO REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY ITS MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD BE READ BY THE JAPANESE AS A DIMINISHED US DIPLOMATIC ROLE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND A LESSENER STRATEGIC PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. SUCH A MOVE, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH MAJOR REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCES IN THE ROK, WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS A MORE GENERAL RETRENCHMENT IN ASIA.

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ACTION EA-09

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-----240815 023818 /11-R

P 240725Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5658

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 2560/02

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

5. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF US AND JAPANESE INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO EVOLVE A CLOSER COOPERATIVE, OR AT LEAST MORE COMPLEMENTARY, RELATIONSHIP IN OUR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO THIS REGION. IF JAPAN CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE US INTENDS TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, IT WOULD WELCOME CLOSER CONSULTATIONS ON SPECIFIC POLICIES. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, JAPAN COULD BE EXPECTED TO WORK IN PARALLEL WITH US TO STRENGTHEN ASEAN AND ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION. JAPAN ALSO MAY PROVE MORE RESPONSIVE TO SUGGESTIONS THAT IT INCREASE THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF ITS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND MAKE MORE ATTRACTIVE THE TERMS OF SUCH AID TO COUNTRIES OF THE AREA. POLICY COORDINATION OF THIS ORDER WOULD ALSO SUIT SOUTHEAST ASIANS, WHO WANT HEAVY JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE REGION, BUT ONLY IF THE US IS INDEPENDENTLY INVOLVED AS WELL.

6. DESPITE SOME POINTS ON WHICH US AND JAPANESE INTERESTS AND PERSPECTIVES DIVERGE -- JAPAN, FOR EXAMPLE, FEELS THAT THE US SHOULD NOT CONTINUE TO BLOCK UN MEMBERSHIP FOR THE SRV, ALTHOUGH IT UNDERSTANDS WHY WE CANNOT NOW ENDORSE ITS BID -- SOUTHEAST ASIA REMAINS A PROMISING AREA FOR COOPERATIVE US-JAPAN EFFORT. SHOULD  
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WE WISH TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY, A FRANK

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE POLICY  
COURSES AT THE SUMMIT WOULD BE VALUABLE.

7. THE PRESIDENT MAY WISH TO INDICATE:

--WE NOTE AND WELCOME RENEWED JAPANESE INTEREST IN  
ASEAN, PARALLELING OUR OWN EXPLORATORY TALKS.

-- THE US INTENDS TO REMAIN ACTIVELY INTERESTED IN  
SEA WITH A VIEW TO ENHANCING ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND POLITICAL  
STABILITY.

-- WE HOPE JAPAN WILL INCREASE ITS AID PROGRAMS.

-- THE US HAS AN OPEN MIND IN REGARD TO FUTURE  
RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM BUT OF COURSE WILL NOT COMPROMISE  
ON CONDITIONS FOR NORMAL RELATIONS THAT AMOUNT TO  
BLACKMAIL.

-- WE HOPE WE CAN SUSTAIN A US-JAPANESE DIALOGUE ON  
SEA POLICY AS ON ASIAN POLICY IN GENERAL.  
SHOESMITH

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## Message Attributes

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